True STATE of the CASE,

IN AN

ADDRESS

TO

ALL the GOOD PEOPLE

OF

ENGLAND.

From a Well-wisher to his Country.

- Verum atque decens Curo

Nullius addictus jurare in verba Magistri. Hor. Lib. 1. Epist. 13

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THE Author of the following Sheets thinks proper to declare in the most solemn Manner, that be is altogether unknown to, unacquainted, and unconnected with all and every one of the Personages named or binted at in this Address: And that neither be, any of his Family or Friends have at any time, to his Knowledge, ever received any Benefit, Place, Preferment, Injury, or Difappointment at the Hand of any of the abovementioned Persons, to sway his Mind for or against them: That he is of no Party but that of the true Friends of the King and People of England: And that he is moved to publish these his real Sentiments, merely from the Principles of unfeigned Loyalty, profound Respect for publick Virtue, the Love of Truth, and an Abborrence of Difguise and Falsebood.

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True STATE of the CASE, &c.

9*9* ITHERTO, my Countrymen and Friends, I have fat by; and though greatly concerned at, yet have not been at all engaged in any of, those political Disputes, that have too long subsisted. Contented with knowing the Subjects of them, I purposely avoided reading any Essay, Letter, or Differtation on them: Well knowing, that the Writers of a Party are not always under the Influence of Truth; and that, being for the most part more follicitous to gratify personal Malice, as well as to propagate the Opinion of their Party, than they are to demonstrate Truth, they impose on the Understanding of plain, unprejudiced Men, by specious, but fallacious Reason-

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ing; inflame the Passions with personal Declamation; and by salse Representations and groundless Assertions, mislead the Judgment.

For this Reason, I resolved to wait with Patience, until Men and Measures should unfold themselves; and to observe the Conduct of the Persons, and the Course of the Things under Consideration, before I should make any Judgment of either; and chose to found my Opinion on Conviction, not in Prepossession.

My Design is now fully answered; those scribbling Essayists are found to be like inferior Actors on the Stage, introduced to prepare the Audience for the Appearance of the principal Performers, who are to bring on the Catastrophe. Time, that bringeth most hidden Things to Light, has laid open the Source, from which those Streams of Bitterness have so freely flowed: And it is to me, and all impartial Men, most evident, that Envy and Ambition only, have caused that soul Current of Abuse, that did so copiously over-run the Nation.

Nation. And no wonder, that Waters, flowing through dirty Channels from fuch a tainted Spring, should be impure! But, that the great Characters aimed at, should not be defiled by the Uncleanness, or overwhelmed by the Rage of the Torrent, is surprising; and can be owing to nothing, but the Purity of their Affections and Intentions, and the Rectitude and Integrity of their Conduct. But this by the Bye.

The Minds of the Publick having been pretty well prepared and prejudiced, the grand Scene has been opened; and the principal Actors have come on, to take up the Business of the Drama, where the others had left it. But, as my Design in this Address is, to endeavour to undeceive well-meaning Men, whose Eyes are caught with a false Lustre, that, like Ignis fatuus, would lead them in the dark, to Ruin; and to inform others, who not having Opportunity of knowing the Truth, or Leifure to fearch it out, may be eafily led, to adopt Opinions, and espouse a Cause they would abhor, if fairly understood; I shall wave all farther Allusions, and speak to you, my Friends, in a Character that becomes us all; that of a plain, honest Country-man.

The chief of the Principals on one Side of the Dispute, was for a considerable time during the late Reign, Prime or Sole Minister in Effect, without incurring the odious Name of it. By him all Places. Pensions and Preferments were bestowed: all Negotiations at Home and Abroad were by him directed; all the publick and most fecret Affairs of State were either transacted by him, or received their Fiat from him. With what Abilities, and with what Degree of Success and Advantage to the Nation, all things were fo done by him, every one doth know. But, be that as it will, this universal Power must of course, and did actually, create numerous Dependants of all Ranks: And the Policy of that Time was fuch, that it was judged, even by the Sovereign, necessary, and good for his Service, that it should do so. Because by that Means, a Majority in both H- of P____, would be fecured, to favour any Scheme that led to extend the Prerogative;

gative; or tended more to the Benefit and Safety of German Interests, than to those of Great Britain. And the Bent of his then Royal Master's Affection being naturally, but for Great Britain unhappily, turned towards his Continental Dominions, this wise and faithful Minister never checked it; but with British Votes, and at a great Expence of British Blood and Treasure, cherished it.

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Hence it was, that the King seldom, if ever, was allowed to dispose of any Office in Church or State, according to his own Liking; was always restrained in the Appointment of his own Servants; forced to take in fuch as the Minister commended. tho' personally disagreeable to himself; and more than once necessitated to relinquish his own wife Choice of an able Statesman, who did but just now worthily preside in a most honourable Council, upon an avowed Combination of the Minister, his Brother, and their Creatures, not only to recede from the Duty they owed their Sovereign, but to embarrass the Administration, by exerting their P-ry Influence to hinder the Grant of Supplies within Doors, and by Intrigues in the City, to prevent the raifing them without.

Thus was this Sword fometimes plunged into the Bowels of that Authority that gave it Edge; and this unconstitutional Power, and Influence over the People, was exerted fometimes for the Gratification of the Royal Will; fometimes in Contradiction to it,

to serve a ministerial Purpose; but at no time ever, for the Benefit of the Nation. The pernicious Effects of which, being felt by King and People in their Turns, and being lamented by all good Men, could not fail being taken Notice of by his present, truly, most excellent Majesty; who becoming a British King over a free People, magnanimously resolved to emancipate the Crown from the Thraldom he found it in: And having no Attachments, but what are really British, no Predilection but for his native Country, nor foreign private Interest to promote at your Expence, had no Occafion for the Arts, that were practifed in the preceding Reign; but greatly, disdained to move the Machine of Government by the same Sort of Engine; or to dispose of either the Treasure or the Offices of State, which were appointed for the Good of the People, to answer Purposes leading to their And at the same time, like a true Patriot, declared his Royal Intention, to leave his Subjects as free in their Voices of Election, as they were in their Properties and Persons.

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Conscious of having nothing at Heart, so much as the Purity, as well as the Security of the Constitution, the Happiness of his Subjects, and the Glory of his Crown, he wisely avoided the Tramels, that his Royal Grandsather moved in. And when Death, or voluntary Resignation presented a Vacancy in Church or State, he with a Discernment, that would do Honour to an older Man, chose worthy and unexceptionable Men to do the Duties of it.

And here, let me congratulate you, my Countrymen, on having arrived to a Period, wished for, but despaired of, by your Fathers. Wherein you see a native Sovereign, laying the Liberties and Interest of your Country, and the Honour of the British Crown, above all Considerations, first to Heart; postponing all Regards for his foreign Dominions, to those that concern your Welfare; and making your Prosperity and Independence the first and favourite Object of his Affection, his Counsels and his Care. Having nothing in his Wishes or Views, but the Permanency

This Rule of acting must naturally give Disgust to those, who sound their Account in a contrary Conduct: To verify this Observation, no more is necessary than to relate a Matter of Fact, which at the same time that it evidences the King's sole Attention to British Interests, and the Patriot Tenderness and Frugality of his supposed Counsellor, will also inform you of the true and only Cause of the Change, that has taken Place in the Administration of the Treasury.

When the Subsidy to the King of Prussia was discontinued by the Advice of the present chief Minister, at that Time Secretary of State; the then first L—d of the T—y, who exerted all his Efforts to support and continue that Measure, find-

ing himself disappointed in his favourite Object, proposed to make himself Amends, and to effect his Continental Purposes in another Shape, by a Motion of a new and extravagant Nature. There was a Usage introduced in the last Reign of obtaining by a Vote of Credit every Seffion One Million of Money, befides the liberal ordinary Grants, to answer the unprovided and unforeseen future Exigencies of the War. Of this Usage the afore-mentioned L-d, on the Disappointment above-related, thought to avail himself; and proposed that Two Millions should be exacted for the same Service, for which One Million only had been ever before defired, and was always found to be an adequate Provision.

This Proposal was traversed even at his own Board; and the utmost, that some of the Members who composed it, and were most forward to savour his Views, would agree to, was, that only a Million and Half should be demanded. But the Scheme was not sooner laid open to the Secretary, than he, from a British Dislike to foreign Attachments, and a Sense of the

the Burthens of the People, already too great, opposed it as a Measure most unneceffary, if it were looked upon only as applicable to the Uses it was pretended to ferve, feeing that half the Money would be fufficient for that Purpose; but highly infalutary and improper, if confidered as an Alternative leading to the same End that the Subfidy to Prussia aimed at: And in all Cases it was esteemed to be a cruel and wanton Addition to the heavy Debt the Nation is oppressed with. But the final Decision of this Point being to be made by his Majesty, that L-d judging, by the ill Reception his Motion met with from the Secretary, that it would be over-ruled and rejected by the King, through the fupposed Influence of that Noble Minister, with great Indignation against the Inspirer of the Royal Mind with that Principle of national Oeconomy, made a precipitate Refignation of his high Employment: which has been fince followed by the Seceffion of fome lower Officers.

His M—y, with his usual Temper, admitted the Resignation; and filled the Vacancy

Vacancy with the Appointment of one, whom he had long experienced in the worst of Times, to be faithful, loyal, wise and honest; and who, he knew, was of a moderate Spirit, and would confine himself within the Limits of his proper Sphere, and to the Business and Duty of his Place.

Hinc illæ Lachrymæ! Hence proceeds all the Clamour, our Ears are dinned with against the Peace. From this Source, as the only Cause, slows all the Scurrility and illiberal Abuse, that has been, without Sense of Shame or Decency, so plentifully in Prints and Pamphlets thrown at; all the disingenuous Arts, that have been used to lessen Mens Respect for, the most respectable Characters; to the great Disgrace of this Nation in the Eyes of the World abroad.

Though this be true, yet it must not be avowed: Truth, in some Cases, cannot better bear the Light, than her Adversary, Falsehood. Envy, and the Rage of disappointed Ambition, are Ensigns too odious

to be hung out, to draw Men after them. If they would take good Men in, to forward their Defigns, they must display the Banner of Popularity; and laying hold of fome Occasion, the Subject of which, being too difficult and complex for the Generality of People to judge in with Precifion, and being therefore liable to much Cavil and Altercation in the Hands of artful and interested Men, may be easily perverted and misrepresented; they must fuddenly " affume the Virtue, if they " have it not," of Zeal for the Interest of their Country; and under Colour of that pretended Motive, set forward their own Purposes.

This Step, I hear, has been taken by those said to be in the Opposition, with regard to the Preliminary Articles of Peace. Some of those Men are now, suddenly animated with Zeal for the publick Welfare, who, before the Commencement of this bloody War, saw with unfeeling Hearts the Violences, committed on the back Settlers of our American Colonies:

And though apprised of the Danger and Colonies.

Damage, that threatened our Commerce with them, by the Stop put to all Efforts of Industry among them, through the Infecurity of their Lives and Possessions; yet had no recourse to other Means of Prevention or Redress, for a too long Series of Time, but feeble Negotiations, and spiritless Memorials. And when the united Referement of the Nation called aloud for War, to repress and punish such Outrages, how weak and ill appointed their Armaments were, how invigorous their Operations, how flow their Motions, how late their Expeditions, how inadequate to the Occasion every Step was, which they took, and how unconcerned for the Success of Britain's Cause they were, let the Loss of Minorca, the repeated Losses and Defeats we suffered in America, and the Arts they used, to prejudice the Sovereign's Mind against a Minister then popular, so as to difmiss him, because he would not Consent to a British War upon the Continent, determine. Yet, when that same Minister was replaced in his Office, and entered into German Engagements, which he had ever before declaimed against, as ruin-

Damage,

ous and pernicious to Britain's Interest; when, I fay, that popular Minister entered into those foreign Views, how vigorous and prompt were the Counsels and Expedition of those Men, to carry the War on brifkly in Germany! Neither Men nor Money were spared, but both without grudging, or Loss of Time, were transported; the first to be slaughtered, by way of doing them Honour, in the most dangerous Services of the Campaign; and the latter, to be absorbed in the Coffers of foreign Princes, and German Generals. And all this, without making, or hoping to make the least Acquisition to their native Country of either Territory, Wealth, or Commerce. Strange, that those Eyes should be so quick now to discern their Country's Good, that then had not the least Glimpse of it! But perhaps, the Splendor of Majesty, that they then basked in, did too much dazzle their weak Sight, to fee any Thing lying beyond the Limits of the Throne; which, now that they are retired to the Shade, and move under a Cloud, they would make us believe, they distinctly see.

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But toascertain this Matter, and enable us. my Friends, to judge, whether they are more discerning and tender of your Concerns now, than formerly; whether in the Opposition they made, and the Opinion they would propagate of the Preliminaries, they confult their own Interest, or that of the Publick, let us in a plain and impartial Manner, befitting the Generality of Men, who talk of it at all, take that Subject into Confideration; without entering into those Arguments, that are drawn from the Nature, Situation and Commodities of the Countries in Question, or from Comparisons of Advantages, that one Place will give to this or that Kingdom, more than another can; all which are for the most Part unknown, and not understood by us, but have been sufficiently discussed and considered in the Grand Council of the Nation.

There, after long Debate and mature Deliberation, the fettled Terms of Peace have been approved: Not uncontroverted however by Male-Contents, particularly by a late S—ry: Who, having with some Degree of Petulance and intemperate Heat, abandoned the Trust, which his King and Country had committed to him, received from the best of Sovereigns, as he himself expresses it, "unmerited Marks of Ap-"probation," and thereby, unjustly lost his Popularity; as if the Royal Regard to an honest Servant were a Crime: or it were impossible for a Minister to be faithful to King and Country at once; or which is most of all injurious and false, as if the best of Kings and Patriots had any Design to execute, any Point to carry incompatible with the Constitution, or contrary to the Interests of the People.

I faid, unjustly lost his Popularity on that Occasion; for, besides the Reasons in general above hinted at, had not the People been intoxicated with Joy, to see him in Place again, through hope of happily emerging by the Vigour of his Counsels out of the desperate and desponding State they were before plunged into, he had lost it then, when he departed from his own boasted Principles and System, and involved

involved the Nation in infinitely greater Expence of Blood and Treasure upon the Continent, than any Minister of England in his Place ever dared to attempt. But he had Address and Art enough, to amuse the People with Notions of his Independence, and his fole Attachment to their Views in carrying the War into Germany, while he gratified the Sovereign's Predilection in Favour of H-r, in an unparallelled Manner; and after having, by his extreme Fondness for it, made a German War fashionable, he had the Effrontery at the Close of his Administration, to feek to impose on the Understanding of the World, and excuse his preposterous Conduct by a ridiculous, figurative Affertion, that " America was con-" quered in Germany." And now having forfeited for all these Reasons together. that Breath of popular Applause, whereby he lives, he hath feized this Occasion to recover it; and to convince the World, he is, notwithstanding the Pension to himfelf, and the Peerage in his Family, unbiaffed by Gratitude or Duty, he wantonly flies

flies in his Royal Benefactor's Face, and opposes a Measure dictated by Humanity, paternal Love and good Policy.

But let us, as I faid, confider this Meafure with the Aid of common Sense only. It cannot be denied, that the present Wealth, internal Power and foreign Influence, that this Kingdom is possessed of. is owing to its extensive Trade and Commerce: And it is agreed on all Hands, that those great Sources of Wealth and Strength are most open, and productive of those Bleffings in the Time of Peace; and that War, like a freezing Winter, not only checks their Current, but by its Calamities and unavoidable Exigencies, doth in great Measure dry up and exhaust the Spring, from whence they flow. Of this Evil we have fuffered a large Share, by Captures made by the Enemy, by the Scarcity and high Wages of Hands to man the Merchants Ships, by the Number of foreign Markets being leffened to us, by our Fears and Danger from the Enemy's Privateers, and by the Hopes of Gain from our own: Both of which have hindered

hindered many from venturing all their Effects in Merchandize; and excited them to apply a Part, no inconfiderable Sum, to the equipping of private armed Ships to cruife upon the Enemy; and turned not a few, to the infamous and pernicious Practice of Stockjobbing. Now it is evident from this, that supposing our Commerce to be no farther extended, than it was before the Beginning of the War; and that by making this Peace, we are, in respect of Trade, in no worse Situation than we were then in, this Peace must be for our Advantage. For Trade now will fuffer no Loss by the Depredations of the Enemy; there will be no Want of Hands to man our Merchants Ships, and their Wages of Course will be much reduced; the foreign Markets, that were before shut against us, are now opened; all Apprehensions of Danger, and Hopes of Gain, from Privateers on either Side, are at an End; our Merchants will carry on their Commerce more largely, and those, who diverted their Money from a Course of Trade, into other Channels of Bufiness, will now return it back again, and apply it to the same Purposes as before, with Safety and Success.

In this abstracted Way of considering this Subject, it does appear to be a most defirable and bleffed Event to a trading People. But if we consider, that this Peace, not only restores all the Advantages and Extent of Commerce that we enjoyed before, but has also added some exceedingly valuable and necessary Branches, which we never had, it will be found to be not only advantageous in itself to this Nation, in a very high Degree, but also abundantly more beneficial, than any Peace that was ever made in this Kingdom; and infinitely preferable to the Continuance of a ruinous and bloody, though in most Parts a fuccessful War.

This last comparative View suggests another Consideration, that strongly marks the Salutariness of this Peace, and the Wisdom, Humanity and Virtue of the Royal Person, that concluded it. A Stop is put to the Effusion of Human Blood; to the shedding of our own Blood, the D Blood

Blood of our Fathers, Sons, and Brothers. Now may the Peafant put his Hand once more unto the Plough: No longer shall his Fallows lie untilled, nor the Fruits of Harvest perish on the Ground, for Want of Hands to cultivate the one, or to crop and fave the other: Now, the working Artist shall eat Bread without Scarceness, nor be any more obliged to pay artificial high Prices for his necessary Food, or for the Labour of his Men; and all Ranks of People shall enjoy the Fruits of Industry, in Peace and Plenty. An End is put also to the insupportable Expences of War; of that War, which, by the Prodigality of the late S-y, has run our National Debt up to the enormous and amazing Sum of more than 130 Millions; and, by the Encrease of Taxes to pay the Interest thereof, has exceedingly depressed the Income of the middling Class of People; and which, if it were continued in Compliance with the Spleen of some, and the private Interest of others, would, in the Judgment of knowing, honest Men, infallibly ruin the Nation: For though some Individuals might be immensely enriched by it, yet the

the State, as a collective Body, would be undone, its Credit lost, its self become Bankrupt; and the Bulk of the People, who are not in the Secret or Way of gaining by the War, would be exhausted by the Addition of new Taxes, or ruined by the low Price, or perhaps Extinction of their Stocks in the Publick Funds.

Nor can this Argument of great Expence be retorted upon us against this Peace, as if we had a Right to better Terms, in Confideration of that great Expence; or as if the Advantages of this Peace do not compensate the Loss of so much Treasure, as has been spent in the Prosecution of the War. For, the Ministry concerned in making the Peace, are not answerable for the Expences of the War, in which they had no Hand: If they, who guided the Measures of it were lavish, and conducted it with needless and excessive Expence, the Ministry that succeeded, cannot be expected to work Miracles or do Impossibilities, by obtaining Terms equivalent to their Extravagance. All that can be looked for at their Hands is, to stop that Profusion, which

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they did, as far as they could, and as foon as they came in Place; and to conclude a beneficial, honourable and equitable Peace. And, if the Benefit and Credit of fuch a Peace, be not equal to the Expences of the War, the Shame and Blame must lie at their Door, who, by making Alliances with Princes on the Continent, and plunging us into a German War, not only squandered the publick Wealth in too high a Degree, to admit a Possibility for themselves or others. to procure Returns of proportionate Advantage; but also imposed a dead, unweildy Weight on the Negotiations of this Peace, and rendered it necessary to make feveral Concessions to the Enemy, in order to extricate, and refettle the Affairs of our Allies.

But this is founded on a Supposition only, of our Expences being greater, than the Benefits we have obtained by the Treaty; which comes with an ill Grace, from the Hands of those, who made those Expences fo exceffive. For, though, on that Supposition, it is admitted, that the Preliminaries either are not, or cannot posfibly

fibly be equal to our previous Loss of Treafure, yet it is not granted, that they do fall short of it in Value: Many considering and wife Men think, that the Security of our American Colonies alone, is worth all the Money we have expended. But if we reflect, that the greatest Part of our Expences has been in Subfidies, in supporting Armies of Observation and Execution in Germany, in barren Expeditions to, and defultory Invasions of the French Coasts, to carry on a new foreign War, with which we had nothing to do, and from which we had nothing to expect, but broken Bones, the Reputation of being the Bullies of Europe, and the Honour of paying Princes, to fight their own Battles; if we reflect on this, and that the Expences of our own War and Quarrel with France, which was confined to America and the Seas, were comparatively fmall, and centered among ourselves; the Terms procured in the Preliminary Articles will be found to be infinitely superior to whatever has been expended on that peculiar Service.

Thus

Thus far, my Friends, the present Agreement with our Enemies appears a happy and well-judged Proceeding, considered in a general Light. Let us now take a more particular View, and examine how far the first Cause and great Object of the War has been attended to, and answered in it.

We all know, that at the Conclusion of the late War in 1748, the Limits and Boundaries of our Possessions in North America were left unsettled, as if of trivial Regard, by the Negotiations of that scandalous Treaty of Peace made at Aix la Chapelle; and were to be thereafter decided by Commissaries, to be named for that Purpose. And it is yet fresh in the Remembrance of every one, that while the Miniftry here, were amused with Conferences between the Commissaries of England and France at Paris, and suffered themselves to be cajoled with Promises and Assurances from the Ministry at Versailles, which had no Sincerity or Effect, the French were diligent in executing preconcerted Schemes

of Encroachment and Violence on the Britilb Colonies and Subjects in North America; and had actually formed a Line of Forts on British Territories, to establish a conflant Communication between their Settlements on the Mishippi, and their Posfessions in Canada; with a View to make their future Defigns upon our Colonies more practicable, and in the mean Time to exclude us from all Trade and Commerce with the Indians on the Obio. And, not content with that, they, in the Time and Course of those Operations, had committed divers outrageous Acts against the Subjects and Traders of Great Britain, and encouraged and excited the Indians too every where, to quarrel with, fall upon, and maffacre the British Colonists in all their Settlements.

This, with the Neglect of the French to evacuate the Neutral Islands, was the Root, out of which the War did grow. And it was to retrieve our Affairs, and reassure our Rights, that were thus violated, in that Country, that the naval and mili-

tary Force of England has been exerted latterly with such Spirit and Success, against the Possessions of France, in all Quarters of the World, except Europe. The Operations of the War in Europe took their Rise from another Principle, in nowise British.

their future Defirms and

At the Commencement of the War, and during Part of its Continuance, all Mens Opinions and Discourse turned, upon the absolute Necessity of establishing, beyond Dispute or Danger, the Boundaries of our Colonies, to secure not only the Welfare, but the very being of our Planters and their Plantations; which would otherwife, ever lie at the Mercy of an ambitious and perfidious Enemy, and be always liable to Interruptions, and Incursions from that Quarter: And it was farther argued, that if we could be fo fortunate as to drive the Enemy out of Canada, and keep Possesfion of it, when Peace should be made, it would be the only Way to preserve Peace, and our Properties on the Borders; and would, at the same Time, be a Fund of inestimable

inestimable Wealth to the People of this Nation, in the Monopoly of its Commodities.

This was the Language and Desire of all Men's Hearts; and thanks be to God, it has been happily effected by Valour and Conduct in the Field, and is, with the Island of Cape Breton, ceded and secured to us for ever with Precision, by consummate Wisdom in the Cabinet. And the Partition of the neutral Islands, another Subject of Dispute, is made in so advantageous a Manner, that out of four, three are ceded to Britain, while one, the least of all, is lest with France.

Thus we see, that the two great and only Objects of the War have been fully and entirely attended to: and in so perfect and ample a Manner provided for, with an Immensity of Addition, as to take away all Possibility for ever after, of mistaking, or pretending to mistake our Boundaries; and to remove all Colour of Excuse for invading or encroaching on our Possessions.

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But this is not all; there are yet behind, other fingular, invaluable Points fecured to us for ever in the Treaty we are confidering. An amazing Extent of a rich and delightful Country at the Back of our Plantations, as far as the Mishisppi, with the free Navigation of that glorious River from the Mouth unto the Source, is ceded to you in full Right, without Restriction, or Liberty, on any Pretence whatever, hereafter to retract it. Hereby our Colonies are perfectly fecured; a Communication made between the River of St. Laurence and the Gulph of Mexico; and an easy accessible Way opened by the Rivers Missifippi and Mobile, for Merchants and Traders to carry on a profitable Traffick with the Indians, and Settlers in that Country. The large and fertile Province of Florida, with the strong Fort of St. Augustine is added to this extended Territory; which will effectually answer all the Purposes of holding the Havannab; being fituated fo, as to be an unfailing Check on the Trade and Navigation of the Spanish Galleons, whenever the Interest of Great Britain requires such a Measure:

and

and is more eligible, by reason of its Contiguity to our other Acquisitions and Settlements.

By both these Cessions, the whole Empire of North America, from the Mishispi eastwards, is annexed to the British Crown. Besides these, the Grenadas and Grenadines make a confiderable Addition to our Dominion in the West Indies; equal in Value, under proper Management, to fome of greater Extent and Name. The Spaniard is forced to relinquish his pretended exclufive Right to Logwood; and that Bone of Contention, which was, in great Degree, the Cause of the Violences, that brought on the former Spanish War, and has ever fince stuck in the Throat of the Spanish Court, is now swallowed and digested: for your Right, to cut and fetch that precious Commodity without Molestation and Interruption, is acknowledged, and admitted to be undisputed for ever. Both Nations are obliged to admit you, into the fame State of Favour in Point of Commerce, that by their Family Compact, they had mutually granted to each other, and

and to Nations the most favoured. Minorca, of the greatest Consequence for the shelter, watering, cleaning and careening our Ships in the Mediterranean, whereby our Italian, Levant, and Turkey Trades are protected, and we are Masters of those Seas; that Island, lost by the Supineness and lingering Timidity of a former Administration, is recovered to us, by the Attentiveness and Resolution of the present. Oftend and Nieuport, those dangerous Posfessions in the Hands of France, are not trusted to the French King's Declaration, " that he never intended to keep them," as was proposed to be done in the Negotiation with Mr. de Buffy; but it has been peremptorily required of France, to evacuate them immediately. In Africa, the valuable and important Acquisition of Senegal is guarantied to England: An Establishment, from which alone by the Gum, Gold Duft, Slave and Ivory Trade, we may acquire inestimable Wealth.

And with Regard to our continental Engagements, there is an Article, that must give every true Englishman the greatest Pleasure,

Pleasure, hitherto unknown; that frees and disengages us from all Connexions with, all Obligations to assist, our German Allies. Whereas had the Terms offered to the Enemy, in the aforesaid Negotiation with M. de Bussy, been accepted of, we should have been not the less, embroiled upon the Continent, and have had but a motley Peace, half Peace, half War, with little Variation of Expence; it being, as you may all remember, one entire and separate Article of the then proposed Preliminaries, that, "England shall assist "the King of Prussia with Vigour and good Faith."

But to proceed; if the Affairs of the East India Company be a national Concern, as I doubt they cannot be esteemed fo, seeing they are, by reason of their private Monopoly, and some of their Imports being inconsistent with some of the Manusactories of the Nation, very prejudicial to the Interests of the Nation; I say, if their Affairs be worthy the Care and Attention of the Government, they have not been lest, as

was proposed by the late S-ry in the abovementioned Negotiation, to the future Agreement of the two Companies; whose Avarice and mutual Grudge might ever prevent their Composition: But, that all Cause of Dissension in the most distant Places might be taken away, and no Interests neglected, even the most remote ones, wherein the British Subjects are concerned, see, even these are settled, in their present Posture, with fingular and unfpeakable Advantage; and would have been indisputably enhanced to the Company by the Addition of perhaps 12000 %. a Year more, had it not been for the erroneous and blundering Computation of Time made by themselves, or their Chairman, in the Return they presented to the Ministry.

Such are the principal Advantages, my Friends, derived to you and your Posterity from the present Preliminaries of Peace. Numerous and great in the Time that now is, but greater and more numerous, I trust, in Reversion.

I know,

I know, it is argued in Disfavour of this Treaty, that our Ministers ought not to have allowed France, the Liberty of Fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland, and in the Gulph and River of St. Laurence; that we were in a Condition to exact her Renunciation of that Privilege; and that it would have been the best Policy in the Ministry, to have taken this Opportunity of her Depression, to effect so desirable a Point. But let us make use of common Sense only in considering this Objection, and, I doubt not, you will think that, that Matter could not possibly stand otherwise than it does.

That Privilege was granted by the Treaty of Utrecht; was enjoyed without Interruption or Dispute from that Time, until the Breaking out of the late War in 1743; was renewed and confirmed at the making of Peace in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle; was afterwards freely used till the last War began in 1756; and finally, was by the late S——y, in the aforementioned Negotiation, offered to be restored in its sullest Extent, together with

the Island of St. Peter; and was held by him in the same Degree of Estimation, as putting the Harbour of Dunkirk into the State it ought to be in by the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle; being proposed by him, as an Equivalent for their performing what those Treaties obliged them to, with regard to the Works in that Harbour.

In dealing with Adversaries of all Sorts and Ranks, we know what an insuperable Difadvantage a Man labours under, who contends a Point that has been repeatedly given up by his own Family formerly, or by those of his own Side and Connexion Though there be a wide Difference between the Dealings of Man and Man in private Life, and the Treaties of great and powerful States, yet the Circumstances of our Ministry, with regard to this Article, were attended with Difficulties pretty fimilar. The Subject in Question had been at feveral Times formerly conceded by their Predecessors, and not very many Months ago was again offered by one, that then guided the Counsels of Great Britain, and

is still in being. What new Reason could have been suggested since that Time? What Matter, undiscovered then, has been produced to Light within that Period? Or what Arguments, that were not equally strong 18 Months ago, could be urged now, to abate a Privilege so often and so recently allowed?

It will be faid, that fince that offer was made, we have gained great Advantages over the *French*; that our Condition is better now, than it was then, and theirs is worse.

I do not know of any material Advantage we have gained fince that Time, to make our Condition better, or theirs worse, but the Conquest of Martinico. Their Marine was then, as it is now annihilated; their Trade cut off and destroyed; their Possessions and Plantations in all Parts of the World torn from them; their Credit as much sunk; and their Attempts and Designs upon the Continent equally bassled and deseated. Now, if this ill Posture of their Affairs be a good Reason at this F

Time, against restoring to them the Privilege under our Consideration, or any other Thing that once belonged to them, it will operate as strongly, against the Willingness of the Minister of that Time to restore them then. And it requires a good deal of Considence to affirm, and some Sophistry to prove, that our Condition is bettered since, seeing that we are a vast many Millions more in debt, and the less able to continue the War, or to insist upon every Advantage.

And with regard to Martinico; I fee not how the Acquisition of it can at all influence the Terms of this Negotiation otherwise, than by considering it as an Advantage to be conceded by Way of Equivalent for some other Thing. But as the Eastern Part of Louisiana makes one Article of Cession on the Part of France in the present Preliminaries, that is not to be found in the late S—y's Proposals to Mr. de Busy, and as Martinico has been the only Acquisition made since, and is now to be restored, it is evident that the Cession of that Country has been the Price of the Resti-

Restitution of that Island. And it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible for the Objectors to shew that this little Island was worth even this, not to say more Concessions.

I remember when the first Attack upon that Island failed, and Guadaloupe was foon after conquered, much Pains were taken to reconcile the People to the Disappointment of their Hopes at the former, by depreciating that Island, and representing, under stated authentick Accounts, the Infignificancy and little Value of its Exports and Produce, and the great Superiority of Guadaloupe over it in that Particular. How. it has rifen fo much in Merit and Confideration in little more than twelve Months time, as to be thought, now it is to be restored, well worth our Retention; and the Conquest of it to be urged as a sufficient Reason for keeping possession of its neighbouring conquered Islands, for refusing the above Privilege of fishing, and for acquiring all North America too, is above my Capacity to explain, and must be left to be accounted for by the uncommon Genius F 2

Both.

of the late S—y, who is used to affert Paradoxes, and is not ashamed to contradict in Practice and Discourse in one Year, what he passionately afferted and insisted on in another.

But farther, if this Fishery be dear to us, it is not less so to them. The S-y, and those who were concerned in the above Negotiation with Mr. de Buffy, found it to be fo: And an honourable Gentleman, who was intimately conversant with the French Ministry, and had sounded them often on that Head, lately declared in an august Affembly, that it was his Opinion that the French never would relinquish that Right. but with their Existence. Had our Miniftry then infifted on it with the Peremptoriness of a Superior that would take all Advantages, the Negotiation must have been broken off, the War would have been continued to an Excess that would have exhausted our Resources of Men and Money; and though it might be fuccessful, and new Conquests might be made, yet our Success and Conquests would in the End prove our Ruin.

And if the Continuance of a bloody and impoverishing War was to be the Price of annihilating that Right, we have Reason, my Countrymen, to rejoice and give Thanks to God for inspiring our Rulers with a Refolution not to acquire it at fo dear a Purchase. It is therefore once more confirmed by Treaty; but will be enjoyed with lefs Advantage to them and Detriment to us for the future than heretofore. For by the fame Treaty that allows it, they are deprived of the Island of Cape Breton, and of the Fishery on its Coasts, nearer than fifteen Leagues; of the Town and Harbour of Louisbourg, formerly a strong and safe abiding Place for themselves and Shipping; and as they have now no Harbour in that Quarter, for other Ships than fishing Vesfels, and no Fortifications or Military Force allowed them there, it will depend on but a small Share, of Attention and Vigilance in the British Ministry hereafter, that they make not the least Advantage from it, other than the neat Price and Produce of their Fish.

But the Restitution of Martinico itself, of Guada-

Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desiderada, Goree and Belle Isle is censured as too great a Concession; and by some it is affirmed, that they should all be kept, together with Canada, while others more moderate, but more artful, contend that any thing, even Canada, should have been rather yielded than these.

It is to be observed here in general, that a Thought of retaining every Conquest is chimerical, and impossible to be effected. It was customary indeed in Times of Barbarism, for those Monsters of Cruelty, the Heroes of Antiquity, and for the more favage Saracens, without any Regard to Equity, to facrifice whole Kingdoms to their Lust of Empire: but blessed be God, fuch Rapaciousness is unusual now, and inconfistent with the Mode and Law of Nations in these modern, civilized and Christian Ages. To intend the Retention of all the Conquests a Nation makes, bespeaks a grasping tyrannical Ambition, aiming at universal Supremacy; that no sooner shews; itself in either King or State, but it excites the Resentment and Abhorrence of all the World.

World. It is a Temper very different from that of Britain's King or People; whose amiable Character is, Generofity and Moderation towards a vanquished Enemy, the tenderest Regard to the Rights of Princes, and the constant Preservation of the Evenness of Power throughout Europe. Befides, none of those Places were any Part of the Object of the War; and they were attacked and conquered only with a View to bring the Enemy to Reason, and oblige them to do us Justice, in respect to the first Cause of our Quarrel with them. But if they were all to be retained, they would, with our other Acquirements make fo confiderable an Addition to our ordinary Expences in Time of Peace, that we should not find ourselves much relieved by Peace, from the Burthen and Expence of War.

As to the latter Part of the Objection, that it would have been better to have yielded up even Canada than those; it must be observed that in that Case, the grand Principle of the War would have been neglected and given up: Our Colonies, which make so great a Part of the Strength

and Riches of England, would be infecure as before, their Prosperity precarious, and a Door left open for the same Violences, Incroachments and Invasions to begin a new War, as did produce this. And here let it be remembered, that when Canada, and those Islands were subdued, it became a Subject of Dispute which of the two should be given up at the making of Peace. Much Argument was used on both Sides, to establish the Preference, that each of them gave to their favourite Conquest. In my Judgment, the Argument was strongest with those, who advised the holding of Canada, and the Restitution of the Islands. The then S-ry thought fo too; and his City Friend, if he did not form the 5-y's Opinion in that Matter, did at least strengthen and confirm it: for we find the Restitution of the Sugar Islands makes one Article in his Proposals, and the Retention of Canada another. What then can be the Reason of his so long and painfully declaiming against the restoring of them now? Is it owing to any new Improvement of our Circumstances, to any Change of our Condition for the better fince

fince that Time, on Account of Martinico? The Non-entity of fuch Improvement and Change, and the Absurdity of the supposed All-sufficiency of that Island, has been already taken Notice of. Is it owing then, to a Refolution formed to oppose the Ministry right or wrong, and to espouse that Opinion, whatsoever it be, that is directly contrary to theirs? Let the impartial World judge. Or finally, is it owing to his City Friend's having experienced, against his former Expectations, that his private Interest is greatly promoted, by our Merchants having the Monopoly of Sugar. and by an exorbitant Price, before unheard of, that has thereby been advanced upon that necessary Commodity? How probable this is, I leave to the Judgment of all Men, who understand the Bent of the Human Heart, tainted with felfish, avaricious Affections, or know the Power of private Friendship.

With regard to the Restitution of Goree; it is to be observed, that being of small Consequence in itself, and its Climate not favourable to English Constitutions, the G Want

Want of it is no Lofs. And as Restitution must be made of one of our Acquifitions on the Coast of Africa, it was meritorious in the Ministry to restore the least valuable, and most distant. Must be made, I faid: for it is evident that in the abovementioned Negotiation with M. de Buffy, France infifted on one of them, and though Goree is not among the S-y's Concesfions, yet his Refufal was attended with a Douceur, viz. that some Expedient should be admitted, which might answer all the Purposes France aimed at in possessing the Place: which no doubt inspired them with a Hope, and a Firmness of Resolution to recover it in some subsequent Treaty. And I dare venture to affirm, that it is of much less Detriment to us to give it up, than to be at the Expence of fettling it, and keep guard and garrison there, to let the French divide with us the Benefit and Utility of it.

It would be an Affront to your Understanding, to offer at any Reasons for restoring the infignificant Island of Belle-Isle. An Island, which though it cost the Nation tion an extravagant Sum, yet was not expected by those, who planned the Expedition against it, to make Return of a Shilling Advantage.

Having now, my Countrymen and Friends, laid these Things before you in their true and native State, I believe you must be convinced, that the present Dispofition of Affairs, is the best for us that could be: And that nothing, but private Interest, disappointed Ambition, and personal Illwill, has induced Men, by forming Oppofition to it, to disturb the domestic Peace of their Country, and feek to violate that fweet Harmony, that subfifted between the most virtuous of all Princes and his Subjects. It must be evident to you, that this Measure of the Government was attacked. only to come at the Minister who conducted it; and that the Defign of the Party in Opposition was, through that to pierce his Side.

But let us, for our farther Satisfaction, enquire, how this Spleen and personal Illwill is grounded; and what Cause this G 2 Noble-

Nobleman has given for fuch malicious Treatment. Has he behaved with Haughtiness and Arrogance to his Companions in the Administration? Has he been oppresfive in his Station, or injurious to his Inferiors, even the lowest Class of Men? Has he been pitiless, and insensible of their Burthens, or regardless of their Remonstrances and Complaints against new and heavy Impositions, which affected them alone? Has he admitted any thing in moral Conduct to offend good Men, or to difgrace his Rank and Birth? Let his Enemies speak.-Alas! they are filent. Those Men, that were industrious to render him unpopular by difingenuous and the basest Arts, and to blaft his Credit by vile Infinuations, as contrary to Truth as to Decency and good Manners, those very Men charge him with none of these; but, by their Silence " against the Teeth and Fore-" head of their" Cause, are forced to give the strongest Evidence in his Favour. Were there the least Reason or Colour of Truth, to establish an Imputation of such Conduct, they, who have ranfacked the whole Magazine of Malice, would not have overlooked

looked fo material and effectual Means of compaffing their End.

What Evil then hath he done? Has he in public Life, in his political Capacity, either done, or advised the doing of, any thing illegal, unconstitutional or against the Good and Interest of the People? No such thing. Neither is that pretended by his Adversaries. The only Instance of his Conduct, wherein the Interest of the People is pretended to be not enough attended to, is the Proceeding, that has been before us; and for what Reason, and with what Justice that is objected to him as a Fault, you all have seen, and no doubt will judge impartially.

But say some, he is ambitious, and has aspired to Power and Honours he was not entitled to. This Charge comes with an ill Grace from Men, on whom it may be, with great Truth, retorted. But, if to engage the Considence and Esteem of a most virtuous Prince by the fairest and most laudable Means; by a long unintermitted Course

Course of Duty and personal Affection, by improving the Understanding of his Youth with the best Knowledge, and inspiring his Royal Breast with the noblest Sentiments of Religion, Truth, Justice, Honour, Love of Liberty and of his People, by his own possessing the best Qualities of the Head and Heart, Wisdom, Sincerity and Modesty, by the constant Practice of the Virtues of Society, and by an unaffected Display of the genteelest exterior Accomplishments, all united, with the most illustrious Birth, high Hereditary, not new, Rank, and an immense Property, all which do well entitle any one to the most exalted Honours; I say, if this be Ambition, I hear the Earl of Bute is full of it. For, I hear Numbers, otherwife not well affected to him, own, that he has done those Things, that he daily practices those Means, and is thus uncommonly qualified. If this be Ambition; let fuch Ambition flourish! May it ever live, and be rooted in the Heart of every Counsellor and Minister of the Crown!

If to accept at his Royal Master's Hand unfollicited Honours, and Employments, not so much the Reward of past, as they are an Inlet to future Services; if to discharge the Functions of those Employments wifely and honeftly, for the Honour of the Crown and the Welfare of the Realm; if to give the wholesome and glorious Advice of governing a free People, no longer by Corruption, but according to the Constitution, of abolishing Faction, and without any Distinction but Honesty and Merit, calling to the various Offices in Church and State only the best Men, of whatsoever Party and Denomination; if this is to be ambitious, I am told, and Fame reports, that the Lord Bute is greatly fo: And may he long live fo! May Britain's King and People never be without fuch an ambitious Minister!

If the difinterested Choice our King, for his People's Good, did make, of ascertaining his Revenue at 800,000 l. per Annum, at a Time when it stood charged with

with large Annuities, was subject to the Maintenance of all his Royal Brethren, and had in View perhaps a numerous Isfue of his own, rather than have it fettled as in the late Reign, whereby he would have a moral Certainty of making it confiderably more: if his preferring in this Point the good Will and Interest of his People, to his own pecuniary Advantage; if that Patriot Spirit and Regard for the Religion, Laws, Liberties and Property of his Subjects, which moved his generous Heart to fecure the Integrity and Independency of the Judges, those Bulwarks of them all, and to put them out of the Power and Influence of himself and his Successors; if that Principle of Oeconomy, which we fee at work, and that the formed Defign, already begun, of rescinding useless Employments, and retrenching extravagant Expences, that under former Administrations were accumulated to increase the Number of their Dependents, regardless of the Groans of a suffering loyal People; if all this, be the Effect of the Earl of Bute's Influence, and the Refult

fult of his . Counfels, what Englishman, that is a Friend to his King, his Country, or himself, can be diffatisfied at that Nobleman's Situation? A Situation fo defervedly acquired, and wherein he acts fo honeftly, above Example? Who is there, that is not a Slave to Passion, Prejudice, or Interest, that will not rather give Thanks to God and the King, and pray for the Continuance of fo great and uncommon a Bleffing? And what is to be thought, my Friends, of those, who meanly traduce so worthy a Character; who by false Reprefentations prevent that Affection in you towards him, that Popularity, that the Rectitude of his Conduct juftly intitles him to; and which his superior Merit will in fpite of Malice one Day give him?

It is fitting, that you should judge for yourselves, and put aside that Veil, by which those Men would obscure your Sight. You are all free Men, my Friends; shew yourselves so; and be not enslaved to the Opinions and Views of others. Difgrace not yourselves and your Understand-

H

ings, with being made Tools to shape out the secret, deformed Designs of Men, actuated only by a Hope of their own Advantage, not yours; who would inflame you with groundless Imaginations, and improve your Discontents of their own creating, to establish themselves in their former Capacity, to play the same Game over again, to your undoing. Take a View of Men and Things in their own Light, such as they themselves afford, not in the deceitful reslected Light, which a jaundiced Eye casts on them.

Peace with the World Abroad, is now once more restored to the Land: And as far as human Wisdom could provide, all Caution has been used to make it lasting, and to prevent the Return of War. Let us preserve and cherish it among ourselves also. Let us not under Colour of Love to our Country, or with Pretences of Desects in the Terms of Peace, gratify the Spleen of our late Enemies by our unnatural Dissentions and Divisions; or render that really unproductive of Good, which is now but pretended

pretended to be so: Let us not frustrate the Humane and Patriot Intention of the Royal Maker of this Peace; but thankfully concur with his gracious Views towards our Happiness, by stifling the Spirit of Faction, by adding to our Loyalty, Affection; and unto Affection, Gratitude; and unto Gratitude, Respect; let us improve the Opportunity, that Rest and Sasety gives us, of increasing our Wealth by Increase of Industry and Trade; and of reducing the Weight of Debt and Taxes, that both of them lie under.

Mark those Men, who do otherwise, and go about stirring up Discontent and Strife; who seek to interrupt the Tranquillity of the Kingdom by reviving hateful Distinctions of Party Names, long since forgotten: Men, whose Principle is, to clip the Wings of Majesty; whose Practice has been to endeavour in several Instances to out-stretch them to your Prejudice: Who usurp the Royal Power to raise their own Estimation, leaving the true Proprietor nothing but the Name.

Such Men are not Friends either to the King or you. They seek their own Grandeur and Establishment; not his or yours: To compass that, they will move Earth and Hell; they will sharpen their old Instrument, the Mob, and patronise and encourage their licentious Insults on Sacred Majesty, so far at least, as not to rebuke or disayow them.

Upon the whole Matter, to govern the Realm of Great Britain by a Junto or Cabal, that moulds King and Parliament into what Shape they please, is illegal, unconstitutional and pernicious: It is that Form of Government, the worst Sort of Aristocracy, called Oligarchy, that has been found at all Times and in all Countries, cruel and oppressive to Individuals, and ruinous and subversive of the State. The legal, happy Administration of England is in the King, the Nobles, and the Commons. The Purity and Prosperity of that wife Establishment confists in each of these being free; in the unbiassed Exercife and Enjoyment of their respective lawful

lawful Powers, Privileges, and Rights. From the happy Union and Proportion of which, arifes that Strength and Beauty in the Structure; that is the Terror of our Enemies, and the Admiration of the World.

This genuine Method of Government feems to be the Plan of our Patriot King and Ministry. Designing to leave the other two Parts of the Constitution in their native legal Freedom, he nobly resolves to be free himself, and to shake off Ministerial Bonds.

I will now take leave of you, my Countrymen and Friends, adding but one Obfervation more. You have had one Minister, who used his Influence on you or your Representatives, only to elevate his own Consequence, and to gratify the Inclination of his Master towards Hanover. You have had another, raised upon your Shoulders, who, taking Advantage of his Popularity, reconciled to him his offended King; and in Concurrence with the former, turned

turned the Favour he had with you, to answer Purposes, that ought to have deprived him of it; to depress you with the Weight of an unprofitable, expensive War, which you might have well avoided; and which has been the true Cause of your not having obtained all the pretended Advantages in the Treaty now made, that he and his Party infift you should have had. You have now, a Minister taking a Course widely different; exerting his Credit and Favour with the Crown, to extricate you from that Gulph, and to promote Meafures of good Policy, Peace, and national Oeconomy, that lead to your Freedom, Independency and Happiness.

The END.